

BULLETIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON.

HISTORICAL SERIES VOL. I, NO. 2.

SEMI-CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF
OREGON.

EXPLORATION NORTHWESTWARD,

BY

F. G. YOUNG,

EDITOR HISTORICAL SERIES,

—Also—

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY REGIME
IN THE OREGON COUNTRY,

BY

EVA EMERY DYE, A. M.

PUBLISHED WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE
REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

EUGENE, OREGON:
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NOVEMBER, 1898.

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BULLETIN

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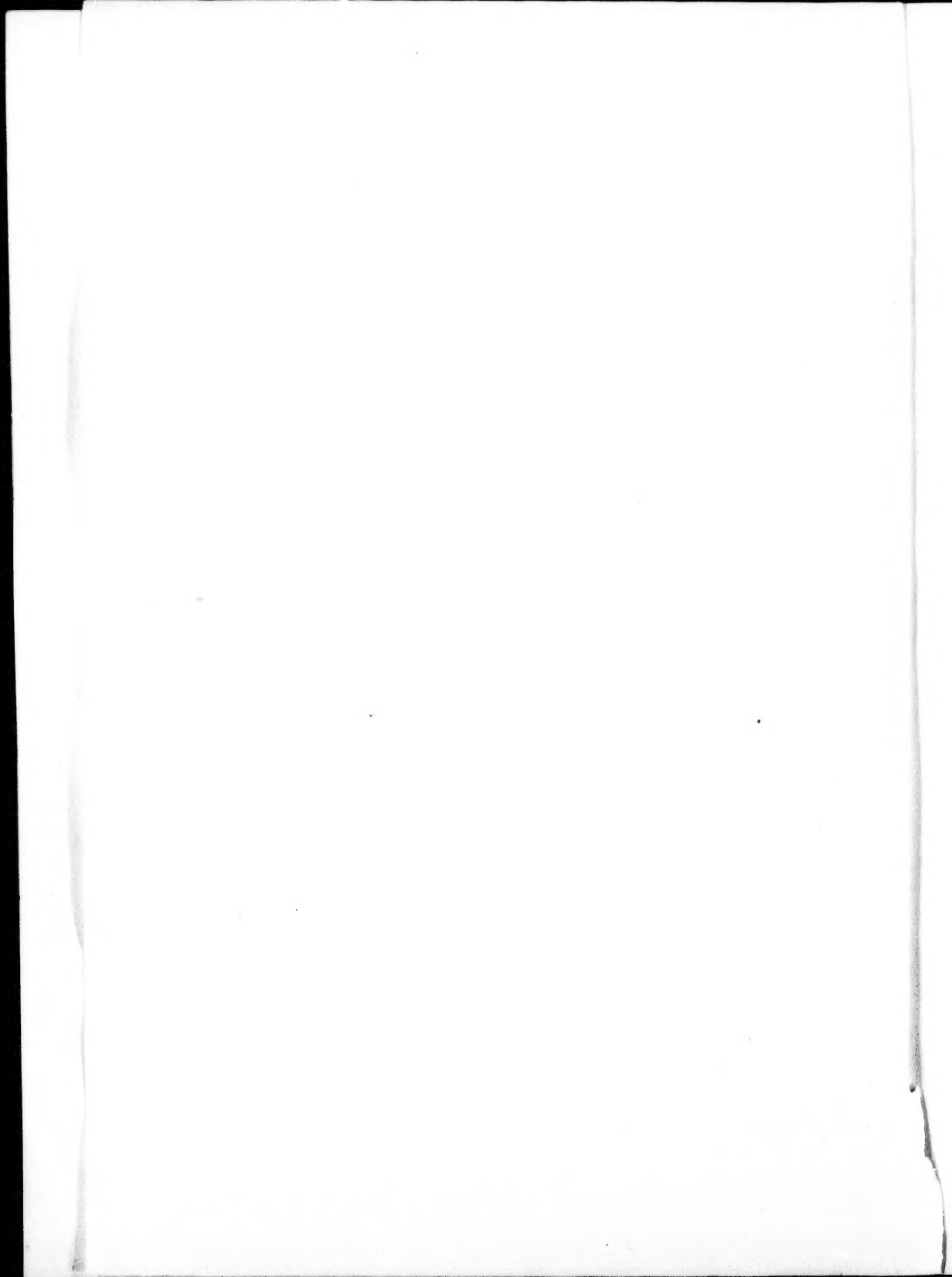


THE UNIVERSITY OF
BRITISH COLUMBIA

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EXPLORATION

NORTHWESTWARD.

The initial papers of this Series were designed to give the reader in a tentative way his bearings in Oregon history. In them the fundamental motives impelling the explorer and pioneer northwestward and the trends of their courses were referred to. The **stages** of growth from an Oregon settlement to a community and **from** a community to a commonwealth with its more salient characteristics were pointed out.

There is a charm in the launching of a ship or in the unveiling of a statue. How grandly fascinating should be the unveiling of a continent clearly seen. Oregon history gives a standpoint for viewing in its unity and virtual completeness the process of disclosing a continent of its darkness and mystery. The Oregon country was the last of the habitable portions of the continent to be brought within the ken of civilized man. Before we trace the progress of this unveiling towards the Columbia River basin let us inquire somewhat more minutely into the nature of the process itself.

"If we wish to make ourselves thoroughly acquainted" says Dr. Kohl, "with the history of discovery in the New World, we must not only follow the navigators on their ships, but we must look into the cabinets of princes and into the counting-houses of merchants and likewise watch the scholars in their speculative studies." An explorer became possessed with certain geographical ideas represented by the map of some geographer. This was his chart for his voyage. He was commissioned by some sovereign, or at least inspired by some national motive. His discoveries became the possible basis of a future political expansion. His log-book, the record of his voyage, led the geographer to modify his theories and correct his map, which in turn became the chart for future voyages. The process of exploration thus involved the co-operation of these several agencies and their mutual interaction. This process in its essential nature is probably best conceived of as the growth of the geographical ideas of the world's mind — the navigators act as the organs of sense in getting new data, the scholars as centers interpret these and revise the previously held ideas, the monarchs and merchant companies originate and commission new impulses in the shape of new expeditions for further progress.

Anniversaries of the landing of Columbus in the West Indies and of Captain Gray on the banks of the Columbia were celebrated recently in the same year (1892). It was, however, the four hundredth of the discovery of America and the one hundredth of the discovery of the Columbia. It took an even three hundred years to penetrate from Cuba to the Columbia basin. What could afford more favorable conditions for understanding the factors accomplishing a process than such deliberate passing of it through the centuries?

The results of five nations having extended their lines of exploration to converge upon the Oregon country are no longer burning questions in international relations, and yet these are not all settled, as witness the disputes over the British Columbia-Alaskan boundary. For more than half a century the overlapping territorial claims on the Pacific coast seemed fraught with gravest consequences. In their later complications they constituted the Oregon Question. The political map of the Pacific slope is likely forever to commemorate the international rivalry in exploration. The key to the explanation of the peculiar shape of Alaska and to the

hodge-podge of geographical names on the Pacific coast from Alaska to California, to take two special cases, is to be found in the history of the early explorations on the Northwest coast.

In a word, we may hope in an examination of this period of three hundred years of exploration northwestward to have exemplified under peculiarly favorable circumstances the process of the world growth in geographical knowledge; and further as five nations are viewed in their parallel activities making for expansion towards the North Pacific coast, which activity in each case sometimes rises to be the dominant national interest, their national characters receive striking illustration; in this period too we find some elements essential to the understanding of later phases of Oregon's development; in it we have the opportunity of following the development of an important historical problem that has a rare degree of unity and definiteness.

The work of developing the world's knowledge of the continent of North America from Columbus' idea of it as a string of Asiatic islands to the point where the Oregon country was brought fairly within the pale of civilization was a work, as I have said, of some three centuries. The view that Columbus held had been proposed by Eratosthenes in the third century B. C. It had been adopted at intervals by geographers during the intervening seven teen centuries. The main change that it had suffered had been the prolongation of Asia over against Spain. In this form Columbus had received it from Toscanelli about 1474. The geographical conditions predicated in this belief precluded the possibility of the existence of a North Pacific coast. From that point of view the development of this coast involved a dead lift of it out of the interior of Asia. The region we call the Pacific Northwest was far back in the dominions of the Grand Cham of China. But this belief of the Asiatic connection of the newly found lands of North America had not fairly begun to decline before another geographical conception of North America arose that placed the Oregon region at the bottom of the sea.

For the sake of clearness it will probably be best in this sketch to regard the explorations northwestward as resulting first, in tearing the North American continent away from Asia; and second, in pushing the Sea of Verrazano back into the North Pacific and Arctic Oceans. There were thus two main delusions pertaining to the geography of North America: the earlier conceived

of it as the eastern extension of Asia; the later regarded it as a narrow strip throughout in its northeasterly extension, much as it was found to be in Central America and southern Mexico. These views in their radical forms were necessarily in irreconcilable conflict, but toned down they were made to coalesce by many geographers.

"The cartographical history of the Pacific coast of North America," says Justin Winsor, "is one of shadowy and unstable surmise long continued." The former, or as it may be termed, the Asiatic view lingered a full century after the decline had begun. A map was published in 1598 exhibiting it. Thomas Morton in 1636 showed that in New England it was not yet decided whether the continent of North America did not border upon the country of the Tartars. "Indeed, the last trace of the assumption," says Winsor, "was not blown away till Bering in 1728 passed from the Pacific to the Arctic Seas." That the second or isthmian view as to the dimensions of the continent was held with almost implicit faith during the first half of the seventeenth century we have much evidence. By the first charter of Virginia (1606) it was declared to extend from the 34th to the 45th parallel of latitude, and from the seashore one hundred miles inland. In a second charter, issued three years later, Virginia is described as extending from sea to sea, that is, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. "It is not likely," says Fiske, "that the king and his advisers understood the westward extension of the grant, as here specified, to be materially different from that mentioned in the first charter. The width of the continent between Chesapeake Bay and the valley of the St. Lawrence was supposed to be no greater than from one to two hundred miles. Henry Hudson in 1609 entered New York harbor in the hope of coming out upon the Pacific Ocean in a few days."

It is to be noted that while the *results* of some three hundred years of exploration northwestward were the outlining of a continent in its main features and true proportions, the impelling motive had reference to altogether different ends.

It was mainly one prolonged search for a northwest passage to the Indies of spices, gems, silks and gold. Visions of the Seven Cities, of second Mexicos and Perus, with mines of precious metals and later with regions rich in furs, spurred the explorers to increased

zeal. "A most pathetic and thrilling story," says Fiske, "is that of the persistent search for the Northwest Passage, kept up for 330 years, and gradually pushed farther and farther up among Arctic ice-floes, until at length in 1854 the passage was made from Bering Strait to Davis Strait by Sir Robert McClure."

Thus three ideas were dominant with cartographers, with explorers, and with the European monarchs in the development of the geography of North America: the ideas of contiguity with Asia; of a distinct continent contracted to isthmic proportions in the region from the Chesapeake Bay to the St. Lawrence; of an open passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific somewhere in the north. All found varying representation on the maps. Now and then there would be a guess approximating reality. But it was the last idea only that served directly as the motive to exploration.

Columbus on his fourth voyage (1502-3) made a laborious search for a passage in the region of Central America. So fondly was the hope of a strait in that quarter cherished, that Cortes indulged in the delusion of one at the base of Yucatan as late as 1522. Such a strait was represented on maps ten years longer.

The Portuguese taking the Cape of Good Hope route penetrated to the Molucca or Spice Islands in 1511. Naturally the question arose whether they were not trespassing on Spanish rights. The line of demarcation between the possessions of Spain and Portugal as laid down by Pope Alexander VI was extended by its antipodal round the earth. The means of determining longitude, however, were too crude for arriving at a clear and satisfactory decision of the disputed ownership of these islands. It was seen that the issue was to be determined by occupation. The matter was urgent. Spain must find a passage west to the Moluccas. Columbus and all since his day had failed to find a passage thither by way of the Caribbean Sea. Special efforts were turned to the south. Magellan's was the third expedition sent to the south on this mission. The second expedition under Solis (1516) had been misled by the broad estuary of the La Plata, and made a fruitless examination of it as an inter-oceanic passage. All know the outcome of Magellan's wondrous voyage. He sacrificed his own life but led the way around the world. The excessive length of the voyage from Europe to Asia by this southwestern route rendered it impracticable. However, Spain immediately

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made an attempt to utilize it. The expedition ended in dismal failure.

Search at the center and at the south had not discovered a practicable route from Europe west to Asia. It is then, "Ho! to the north," for this desideratum of the centuries. Sebastian Cabot had been right from the start in proposing a northwest passage to Cathay. That would make great circle sailing — the shortest route.

Cortes was the first to prepare plans that seemed commensurate with the undertaking. In his fourth letter to Emperor Charles V. (1524) he outlines these:

"I am continually on the watch and occupying myself with the thought, how can I best carry into execution and accomplish the desire I have to promote the service of your Majesty. I have already mentioned to your Excellency the places to which I have sent people, both by land and sea, by whom under the guidance of our Lord your Majesty has been well served. Nothing seems to remain but to explore the coast lying between the river Panuco and Florida, the latter being the country discovered by Adelantado Juan Ponce de Leon; and then the northern coast of Florida as far as Bacalaos; because it is considered certain that there is a strait on that coast that leads to the South Sea.* If this should be found, it appears to me that it will come out near the archipelago, which Magallanes by the order of your Highness has discovered, according to a chart which I have, showing its situation. In that case navigation from the Spice Islands to these dominions of your Majesty will be rendered favorable and short, so much so that the distance will be two thirds less than at present; and there will be no risk or danger to ships going or returning, because their course will always lie within the dominions of your Majesty, and whenever there is a necessity for repairs, they can seek a harbor at any point of the voyage in the territories of your Highness. . . .

"The enterprise will cost me more than 10,000 pesos in gold; but if the strait is discovered, it will be of more signal advantage to your Majesty than anything I have yet achieved; and if that discovery is not made, it is possible that others will be, of rich

*This is Balboa's name for the Pacific. Magellan's name had not yet superseded it.

and widely spread lands tending to promote the interests of your Majesty, and greatly enlarging the number of realms and seigniories already subject to your royal crown. It will also be useful to know that such a strait does not exist so that attention may be paid to devising means for securing the greatest possible benefit from the spice countries, and others in their neighborhood; an object for the accomplishment of which I offer my services to your Highness, should you be pleased to command them; so that without the strait I shall cause your Majesty's affairs to be greatly advanced and at a diminished expense. But may it please our Lord to crown this enterprise with success by discovery of the strait! A consummation the most desirable, and in which I have the greatest confidence, since nothing can be denied to the good fortune of your Majesty, and on my part no efforts, attention, or zeal will be spared in the undertaking.

"I also propose to get ready the ships I have had built on the South Sea, so that if it please our Lord, they may sail at the expiration of the month of July, in this year, 1524, on a voyage down the coast in quest of the same strait; since if it exists, it must be discovered by those on the South Sea, as well as others in the North Sea, for the former will run along the coast until they either find the strait, or reach the land discovered by Magallanes, and the latter will proceed to the north as I have stated, until they arrive at Bacalaos. Thus on one side or the other, I shall not fail to ascertain the truth.

"I assure your Majesty, that according to the information I have of the lands situated along the upper coasts of the South Sea, it will be of great service to myself, and likewise to your Majesty, to send these ships in that direction; but being well aware of the great desire of your Majesty to know concerning the supposed strait, and of the great advantage the crown would derive from its discovery, I have laid aside all other schemes more obviously tending to promote my interests in order to pursue this object alone. May our Lord so guide me that his service may be advanced and the desires of your Majesty accomplished, while at the same time my own wishes of rendering good service are gratified."

In this same year, 1524, Francis I., king of France, enters the lists as a competitor for possessions among the new discoveries. He sends Verrazano to find the northwest passage. Land

is first sighted off the coast of North Carolina. Verrazano then skirted the coast northward as far as latitude 50 deg., and may have discovered the Hudson river and landed upon Rhode Island, and again farther up the coast. In this same year d' Ayllon came from Hispaniola and tried the James river and Chesapeake bay for a passage to the Pacific. The next year Gomez was sent out from Spain to find this passage in the north—the matter had become so urgent. He coasted from Labrador to Florida, taking notice of Cape Cod, Narragansett bay and the mouths of the Connecticut, Hudson and Delaware rivers. In this way by these repeated voyages in search of the strait was the geography of the Atlantic coast developed.

It is to be noted, however, that when a Verrazano, a brother of the navigator, published a map in 1529 to represent the discoveries of the voyage five years before, he makes Florida connect with what we now call New England by an isthmus. The imaginary sea washing the western shore of this isthmus was commonly known as the Sea of Verrazano. It was this sea thus originated, that for many years by one line of geographers was made to engulf the Oregon country. It took the valiant services of a long line of intrepid French explorers to push the sea back across the continent, giving it proportions that admitted of the existence of Oregon.

Cortes seems to have desisted from his proposed expedition on the Atlantic side, but set about vigorously to inaugurate the explorations on the north Pacific coast. Here he gave an impulse to northwest exploration by sea and land from Mexico as a base that developed the geography of our southwestern territory and coast from Texas to the upper limits of California and laid the basis of Spanish occupation of those regions of which their successors, the Mexicans, were not to be dispossessed by a branch of the English speaking peoples until the middle of the nineteenth century. Here was the last great expansion of Spain.

From his headquarters at the city of Mexico Cortes sent explorers to the Pacific coast to find a fit spot for a shipping point. Thither he sent colonists and ship-wrights to establish a town and build a fleet. The rebellion of a treacherous lieutenant in Honduras required his attention for a year. In 1527, however, at the urgent request of his emperor he sent three vessels direct

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across the Pacific to co-operate with two other fleets sent from Spain via the Magellan route to the Spice islands. Two of the ships sent out by Cortes were lost at sea, the third was captured by the Portuguese. In 1529 the Spanish claims to the islands were sold to Portugal and Cortes was free to prosecute his proposed explorations to the northwest. But at this stage of his last great project it was necessary for him to confront calumniators in Spain. On his return to the Pacific coast ports he found that the preparations he had made for the building of a new fleet had been interfered with by enemies who were jealous of the new conquests that he might make to the northwest. Ship-building was resumed at Tehuantepec and Acapulco. The first two ships sent out in 1532 were lost. A military governor of the frontier province in the region opposite the point of the peninsula of California had refused them succor. The next expedition in 1533 developed the western shore of the lower parts of the peninsula of California; one vessel returned, its pilot having been killed by the natives; the other was seized by the same rival.

A third expedition in May 1535 was led by Cortes in person. What parts of the lower portion of the California peninsula he coasted is known from his map preserved in the Spanish archives. He established a colony on the peninsula, but hearing that he was being superseded as viceroy returned to Mexico. Still not despairing of better success a fourth trial for glory was made in this direction. He despatched Francisco de Ulloa in 1539, having indications that the new viceroy, Mendoza, would try to anticipate him. Ulloa proceeded up the gulf nearly to its head, and, satisfying himself that no practicable water passage could bring him to the ocean in that direction, turned south and following the easterly coast of the peninsula rounded its extremity and coasted its western shore to about the 28th north latitude, without finding any cut off on that side. It had been Cortes' conviction that California was an island.

Cortes' connection with discoveries on the Pacific end here. Others followed where he had led. His captains called the gulf the Sea of Cortes but the name failed to abide. For a while it was generally called the Red Sea out of the fancied resemblance to the Red sea of the old World. It is held that the name California was given to the peninsula by Cortes himself.

The following year Mendoza sent a fleet under Hernand^o D'Alarcon with Castillo as pilot to co-operate with the famous land expedition under Coronado. The first went to the head of the gulf and with boats ascended the Colorado some distance. Of the land expedition under Coronado more will be said presently. Two years later, 1542, a fleet under Cabrillo, a Portuguese in Spanish service, started up the coast. It sighted land in latitude 33° and coasted north to 44°, if we take the ship's figures. They are supposed to have been one or two degrees too high. He probably entered the San Diego harbor. Cabrillo died on this voyage when the expedition had not proceeded above 38°. Ferrel^o, his chief pilot, continued the explorations. Thus early had the Spaniards reached the southwestern limits of the future Oregon Territory.

The success of Cortes in his conquest of Mexico had filled the Spanish mind with visions of empires. The limits of Mexico and Central America on the west had been ascertained. The outlines of South America were defined and its interior fairly well explored. The north alone remained the region of mystery. The year that Cortes despatched a fleet from a western point of Mexico to the Spice islands (1527) Narvaez, a Spanish adventurer, landed at Apalachee bay in Florida in quest of an El Dorado. The expedition of 600 men and eighty horses was soon reduced by hurricanes and blundering incompetence to four sole survivors aimlessly wandering over the plains of Texas. Cabeza de Vaca, the treasurer of the expedition, was their leader. After nine years of drifting hither and thither they brought up at a Spanish outpost in Mexico.

Exaggerated rumors of the Zuni Pueblos had already reached the ears of Mendoza, the successor to Cortes as viceroy of Mexico, and Cabeza de Vaca assumed an air of mystery as to the countries he had seen and the reports of cities he had heard. These reports of a land of Seven Cities matched well with a tradition current among the Spanish. Imagination had first located these Seven Cities on the island Antilia placed by geographers in the mid-Atlantic. They were easily shifted to the region north of Mexico. Cabeza de Vaca's tale was also told in Cuba and Spain. It inflamed the imaginations of men that had but recently been kindled anew by the story of Pizarro in Peru. It was but natural then that during the same years De Soto's expedition

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should be traveling back and forth through the country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, while Coronado's setting out from Mexico and sending out exploring parties to the right and left should penetrate as far northeast as the present limits of Kansas.

These expeditions demonstrated the wide expanse of the continent up to the fortieth parallel. But hardly more of geographical knowledge than this bare fact was handed down from them. The Mississippi had to be re-discovered by the French in the next century. Marquette and Joliet were under the necessity of descending it as far as the mouth of the Arkansas to be sure that it did not empty into the Gulf of California or the Pacific as had come to be currently believed.

After the futile expeditions of Coronado and De Soto in the fifth decade of the 16th century Spain acted only on the defensive. Her ambition was to hold what she had gained. Rich kingdoms were no longer sought after. Later voyages made by her in search of inter-oceanic straits were inspired only by the motive of forestalling other nations. She did not feel impelled to establish a colony in Florida until the French Huguenots at Coligny's suggestion had attempted a foothold in that region. Her activity in the occupation of California in 1769 and in voyages up the North Pacific coast a few years later was called out by reports of Russian aggression from the north. So, while at the middle of the 16th century there was much of the geography of North America still to be developed, England, France, Russia and later the United States had to be relied upon to dispel the darkness and mystery from the northern and northwestern portions of the continent.

The English people were just awakening to an interest in the western world. They had not responded to the venture of the Cabots half a century before. In 1553, however, Sebastian Cabot was recalled from Spain and a joint stock company later known as the Muscovy Company was formed "for the Discoverie of Regions, Island, and Places unknown." Books too began to appear on the discoveries in America. In 1562 John Hawkins conducted his first great slave-trading expedition between the coast of Guinea and the West Indies. But it was in connection with a nobler enterprise that an English vessel was first to sight the Oregon shores.

Spain in the madness of her bigotry and pride had undertaken to throttle political and religious liberty in Europe. England and the Netherlands alone bade her defiance. Spain used the full power

of the church but England was not overawed. "On a fresh May morning in 1570," says Fiske, "the Papal Bull 'declaring Elizabeth deposed and her subjects absolved from their allegiance was found nailed against the Bishop of London's door,' and when the rash young gentleman who had put it there was discovered he was taken back to that door step and quartered alive. Two years later came the Paris Matins on the day of St. Bartholomew, and the English ambassador openly gave shelter to Huguenots in his house." England's hero in the on-coming struggle stands second only to Nelson, her greatest seaman. Drake had sworn the oath of a Hannibal since that day in 1567 when in command of a ship under Hawkins in the harbor of Vera Cruz in Mexico he had been treacherously pounced upon by a Spanish fleet. The idea was conceived that England's proper policy, as she was a nation of only about five millions of people against the greatest power of Europe since Rome under Constantine, would be to take or destroy the Spanish sinews of war, then being received from the mines of Mexico and Peru. Philip's fleet, however large, must leave these treasures exposed at some point before they reached Spain. "The shores of America and the open sea," says Fiske, were the proper field of war for England." This idea Drake put into practice.

In the fall of 1778 in command of the *Golden Hind*, that was from incursions into the harbors of Peru and Mexico laden with gold, silver and jewels, Drake appeared off the coast of California. He passed up the coast to probably 43° and returned to beach and repair his ship near San Francisco bay. Thence he passed directly across the Pacific to the Malucca islands and home by way of Cape of Good Hope, effecting the second circumnavigation of the earth.

Drake's voyage led to several noteworthy geographical results: New Albion became the name of the region whose shores he had visited; the coastline of upper California took a more northerly trend; geographers given to representing all unknown portions of the earth's surface as sea were under the necessity of bulking the continent to the northwest.

Drake had come to these shores for the strait that should let him through the continent. His failure to find it caused English navigators for a long time to confine their search to the Atlantic

side. Even before Drake's setting out on his memorable voyage Frobisher had led the way into the extreme northeastern inlets of the continent. Davis, Weymouth, Hudson, Baffin, Foxe and James continued the search in this quarter for half a century. Hudson's life was sacrificed in this quest (1610-11). The map from the Hudson bay region north commemorates to an unusually satisfactory degree the efforts of these explorers.

The supposed northwest passage had already taken such a hold of the minds of the cartographers that it had been represented on the maps as the Strait of Anian. The Spanish in Mexico received reports that Drake had found it and they were aroused to efforts directed to securing possession of it. Espejo was sent by land to the northwest; crossing the path of Coronado, he penetrated to the region where Prescott now stands. Other expeditions were organized and by 1598 New Mexico was conquered and permanently settled.

At about the time of Drake's voyage the Spanish succeeded in establishing a regular commerce between Acapulco (Mexico) and Manila (Philippine Is.). The constant trade winds blowing to the west made the northern regions of the Japanese current and return trades the only practicable return sailing route. De Gali first struck out in this direction in 1584 and sighted the shores of California on his eastward voyage in latitude $37^{\circ} 30'$. Other navigators followed the track marked by him and the coast of upper California was brought into better knowledge. In 1602 Viscaino was despatched from Acapulco to the north for the double purpose of finding a harbor up the coast which returning vessels from the Philippines could enter for safety or repairs and for locating the mysterious strait which led to the Atlantic. He himself went up to the 42° , but one of his vessels under Martin Aguilar proceeded to 43° . He reported that there he found the entrance of a river or a strait not far from Cape Blanco. For a long period the entrance and Aguilar's name stood together on the maps.

This false report which may have been merely a mistake combined with others that were pure fabrications brought confusion worse confounded into the geography of the Pacific northwest. Among other things the gulf of California was extended to the north and (1622) it was made to connect with the ocean at its upper end. California for about a century was represented as an island quite as frequently as a peninsula.

The opening of the seventeenth century marks the completion of the first hundred years of activity in the exploration of the North American lands. Only a narrow zone stretching from Baffin's bay around to the southwest, with a slight extension to the north at the west, to the limits of upper California had been developed. The great interior features of the continent, the valleys of the Mississippi, St. Lawrence, the Hudson bay basin, the Mackenzie, the Yukon and the Columbia basins were all undetermined.

Spain had lapsed into a passive condition and only now and then to be aroused to fitful defensive effort. English energy was soon engrossed for a century and a half in the colonization of the Atlantic slope from Maine to Florida. There a new civilization and the germs of a new empire were preparing. After two centuries its turn will come and with a Captain Gray, a Lewis and Clark will do its part toward the development of the geography of the continent. So from the opening of the seventeenth century it is the French alone who for a century and a half (barring the Russian operations under Bering) bore the role of explorers in America.

When Champlain and his successors in turn used the St. Lawrence as a waterway leading to the interior of the continent each cherished the hope that he would open a route to China. When in 1615 Champlain reached the eastern shores of Lake Huron he thought that the great western Sea of Cathay lay almost within his ken. He proposed to his King to find a way to China through the St. Lawrence. At this period it was generally supposed that the St. Lawrence had its source near the head of the gulf of California.

In 1634 Champlain, now grown old and China not yet reached, despatched Nicolet to the west to solve the mystery. Having penetrated to the west of Lake Michigan Nicolet heard that the "great water" was only three days off. He interpreted the "great water" as being an expansive sea, but for some reason did not press on to behold it. Again in 1670 Fathers Allouez and Marquette while out near the headwaters of lakes Michigan and Superior heard the Indians' stories about the "great water" and interpreted them as referring to a river. The conception of this mighty river takes hold of the imagination of La Salle and to him it becomes a vision of a great waterway leading to the gulf of Cali-

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fornia and the French would in it have a channel to the South Sea and access to a route to China quite as convenient as the Spanish route from Acapulco.

Treachery and mishaps before which a spirit of less heroic fortitude than La Salle's would have quailed deprived him of the gratification of the rediscovery of the Mississippi. When in 1673 Marquette and Joliet descended it to the mouth of the Arkansas and virtually proved that its outlet was into the gulf of Mexico geographical ideas were corrected and extended, but the hopes of the iron-hearted cavalier were dashed to the ground. He sent Father Hennepin towards its source where perchance might yet be found an easy portage to the South Sea.

Marquette and Joliet and La Salle himself a few years later (1682) in making the descent of the Mississippi noticed the mighty volume of the Missouri coming in from the west. It told of the vast expanse of continental area towards the setting sun. So La Salle was compelled to turn from his darling enterprise (his "feudal domain of St. Sulpice, near Montreal, bears to this day the name of La Chine—China—which is said to have been applied to it in derision of this fruitless attempt to find the Pacific and the way to Cathay") to that of taking possession for his king of the imperial realms now disclosed extending from the crest of the Alleghanies to the as yet unvisited Rockies. His doom to die by a felon's hand was near. His nation's hold on these grand possessions for feudalism and absolutism also had its days numbered. These regions lay in the path of expanding liberty and democracy.

There was yet another French explorer of the same high adventurous spirit who became infatuated with the idea of opening a route from the region of the Great Lakes to the western sea. In 1729 Verendrye was in command of the post at Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior. From reports common among the Indians he had come to believe that only twenty days' journey to the west was a lake with an outlet to the the Hudson bay, one to the Mississippi and one westward with an ebb and flow of the stream in the direction of a great salt sea. In 1731 he had secured from some Montreal traders an equipment for the quest. For nine years he was engaged in the preliminary work of building forts and making explorations from the Lake of the Woods to the mouth of the river Saskatchewan. Finally on January the 1st, 1743, while his sons were advancing up the valley of the Mis-

souri, Verendrye himself being temporarily disabled, they saw some outlying ranges of the Rocky Mountains. Further advance was, however, out of the question. His means were gone and he was discredited. Others entered on the fruits of his labors but the enmity of the Indians incited by the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company soon made the advancing parties recoil. The great struggle with the English for the possession of the continent was at hand, and France was to lose all. The desired route to China had led them far afield. The world was richer by a vast extension of its geographical knowledge of the interior of the continent. An activity in the trade of furs too was created. It was the commercial motive connected with this trade that was to push forward to completion the exploration of the far northwest.

While Verendrye was advancing towards the Rockies, Bering was sailing from the Pacific to the Arctic and determining the eastern limits of the continent of Asia. The Russians had by slow stages traversed Siberia and had been operating on the eastern shores of Asia nearly a century before Bering set out in 1728 on his famous voyage. The proximity of the American continent was soon discovered. In 1741 Bering made his second voyage. He sighted the American continent in the region of Mt. St. Elias and coasting westward suffered shipwreck and death on Bering island near the Kamchatkan coast.

Separation of the American Continent from Asia was proven and preparation made for a Russian foothold on the western world.

Early in 1773 the government at Madrid received information through the Spanish minister at St. Petersburg of the renewed Russian activity in the North Pacific. Carlos III had at Mexico in Galvez an alert and vigorous viceroy for his North American possessions. California had been occupied in 1769 and in the spring of 1774 an expedition under Perez was ready with instructions to proceed to the north and not to approach land until at least as high latitude as 60° was reached, and thence to follow the coast southward. "No settlements were to be made but the best places were to be noted; and the commander was to take possession of such places for the king. . . If any foreign settlement was found, the formality of taking possession must be commenced above it." The highest point reached was 55° instead of 60°; no landing was made; no good ports were located; no foreign settle-

ments were found, nor their non-existence proven; still a large part of the coast was surveyed, and Spain gained the honor of having discovered practically the whole of the Northwest coast.

The next year another expedition was sent out under Heceta and Cuadra. This had serious trouble with the Indians in a landing made on the northwest coast of what is now the state of Washington. Heceta noticed the inlet of the coast made by the mouth of the Columbia, but was not sure whether it was a river or a strait and did not attempt an exploration of it. Cuadra with the remainder of the expedition re-visited the coast farther north. Accounts of these voyages were not published, so later English navigators were long given the honor of discoverers and names given by them have clung to the main geographical features of the coast.

In 1778 the famous navigator, James Cook, came from the Sandwich Islands of which he was the discoverer to the northwest coast in search of a passage to Europe. The English government had just offered a reward of 20,000 pounds to the officers and crew of any vessel discovering a passage to the Atlantic north of 52°. Cook for a week remained in latitude 43° to 45° with the coast in sight. He named capes Foulweather and Perpetua, and noticed that there was no entrance or strait where Aguilar had reported one. He did not sight the coast again until in the region of Cape Flattery, which he named. He missed the strait of Juan De Fuca. A long stay was made at Nootka Sound on the west shore of Vancouver's Island, though the insular character of the region was not suspected. Thence he departed to the north. A few furs gathered on this voyage were sold in China at a prodigious rate of profit. The new opportunity for commercial gain in maritime fur trade in the North Pacific thus challenged the spirit of the enterprising merchant the world over. The English were first to venture. Their operations began in 1785. The French explorer, Le Prouse, looked over the field carefully the next year. Two years later six Boston merchants fitted out the ship *Columbia* and the sloop *Lady Washington* under the commands of Captains Kendrick and Gray respectively. Both wintered on Vancouver's Island and secured a cargo of furs in the spring of 1789. Captain Gray being transferred to the *Columbia* took the furs to China and having exchanged them for tea continued his voyage,—the first to carry

the American flag around the world. In 1791 he was on the coast. In the spring of 1792, the Sloop Adventure, the vessel built on this northwest coast, was launched. Cook went south in the Columbia in search of opportunities with the Indians and on the 11th of May entered for the first time the Columbia, which is named after his vessel. The English captains Meares and Vancouver had seen the bay at the mouth of the Columbia but had failed to identify it as the estuary of the great river and had quailed before the idea of entering it. Growing in triumph and success and the significance of his achievement were characterized by Mr. Lyman in the first paper of this series.

American enterprise was soon in the lead in the maritime trade. In 1791 the English government had despatched Captain Vancouver to this coast to make the last search for the passage to the Atlantic. He conducted an admirable survey of the region and laid the phantom hope to rest.

During the last thirty years of the century progress on the landward side was keeping pace with the discoveries on the sea. There were the same 20,000 pound rewards offered in 1745 and again in 1776, for finding a passage from the Hudson Bay to the Pacific. The Hudson's Bay Company sent Hearne down the Coppermine river to the Arctic ocean. Alexander Mackenzie, under the auspices of the now Northwest Fur Company, in 1789 followed to the sea the route which bears his name. Three years later he started up the Peace and crossing over to the sources of the Frazer river, he found the Pacific at about latitude 53° when he struck through the wilds to the Pacific. He was the first white man to make the trip across the continent.

The second transcontinental passage was made two years later by the Lewis and Clark expedition. The route traversed five hundred miles to the south of the route of Mackenzie. The Columbia was traced from one of its sources to its mouth. The objects of the expedition as stated in Jefferson's original instructions to Captain Lewis were: to explore the Missouri river and such principal streams of the continent as its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, [sic] Colorado, or the Rio Grande, may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce.

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conceiving and planning this project and supporting it to success- ful achievement, Thomas Jefferson showed truly prophetic leader- ship, having in view the highest destinies of the American people. It pointed out the way to a host of fur traders and pioneers. Limi- tations of space forbid my entering upon a narrative of this expedi- tion. Suffice it to say the enterprise in its conception and execution was a worthy *finale* to the three centuries of exploration north- westward. The map of North America in its grand features was now complete.

We have before us now the historic processions of explorers con- verging in their routes upon this North Pacific coast. The valiant Cortes, representative of Spanish power and ambition in its prime, first sternly set his face northwestward. The Spanish procession followed up the coast and across the parched region of the Rio Grande and Colorado. But the sources of Spanish energy become atrophied. Her outlying dominions are held with a nerveless grasp. Still her navigators win for her priority in the discovery of the whole coast region. She makes pretensions to exclusive posses- sion but recedes upon the first challenge of it by England. We cannot but admire the movement of the French up the St. Law- rence, and the Great Lakes even to the sources of the Missis- sippi, Missouri, and Saskatchewan. Champlain, La Salle, and Ver- endrye seem grandly competent in leadership. But the civiliza- tion, the institutions under them and behind them in France can- not hold their own against a sturdier rival, and French expansion to the northwest stops and its results are reaped by other nationalities. Russia makes a long march across the wastes of Siberia and under Bering prepares to share in American possessions. With Drake and Cavendish England sweeps "around the Horn" into the North Pacific to begin the Anglo-Saxon onslaught upon Spain, the final blow of which was delivered at Santiago. Two centuries later the English movement northwestward comes on in two branches, one by sea headed by Captain Cook, one by land under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay and the Northwest fur companies. Vancouver and Mackenzie reach the goal in the same effective English way.

During the hiatus of nearly two centuries of English exploring activity English energy was being directed into the new branch of the national stock on the Atlantic coast. This new branch of English speaking people, having set up for themselves, begin to

realize at the opening of the nineteenth century that they have a larger stake in this westward movement than any other nation. In the valley of the Columbia Anglo-Saxons of the old and new branches meet. The English branch has allied with it the strength of the native races, but it has also the old mediaeval organization and aims. These were absorbed partly from the French on the way across the continent and partly from the elements of paternalism in the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company. The American home-building individualism and democracy against which the English feudalism was pitted was on its own ground in the Columbia wilderness. It had been developed as a new civilization in wilderness winning. Unless other factors represented at the centers of the national strength of each nation were brought into the contest the outcome was inevitable. Youth and age of the same race confronted each other. Or rather a higher social organization had met to overcome a lower.

In the larger apportionment of the continent as a whole among the European nations who had aided in disclosing it, the outcome turned on the same principles. Degree of utilization determined destiny. The basis of national strength is secured through the utilization of the energies of the environment. The people that make the highest and largest use of their means will always win. American individualism was wonderfully adapted to the work of penetrating and subduing the wilderness. But a new work is now at hand. Requisites for highest welfare ever new are demanded.

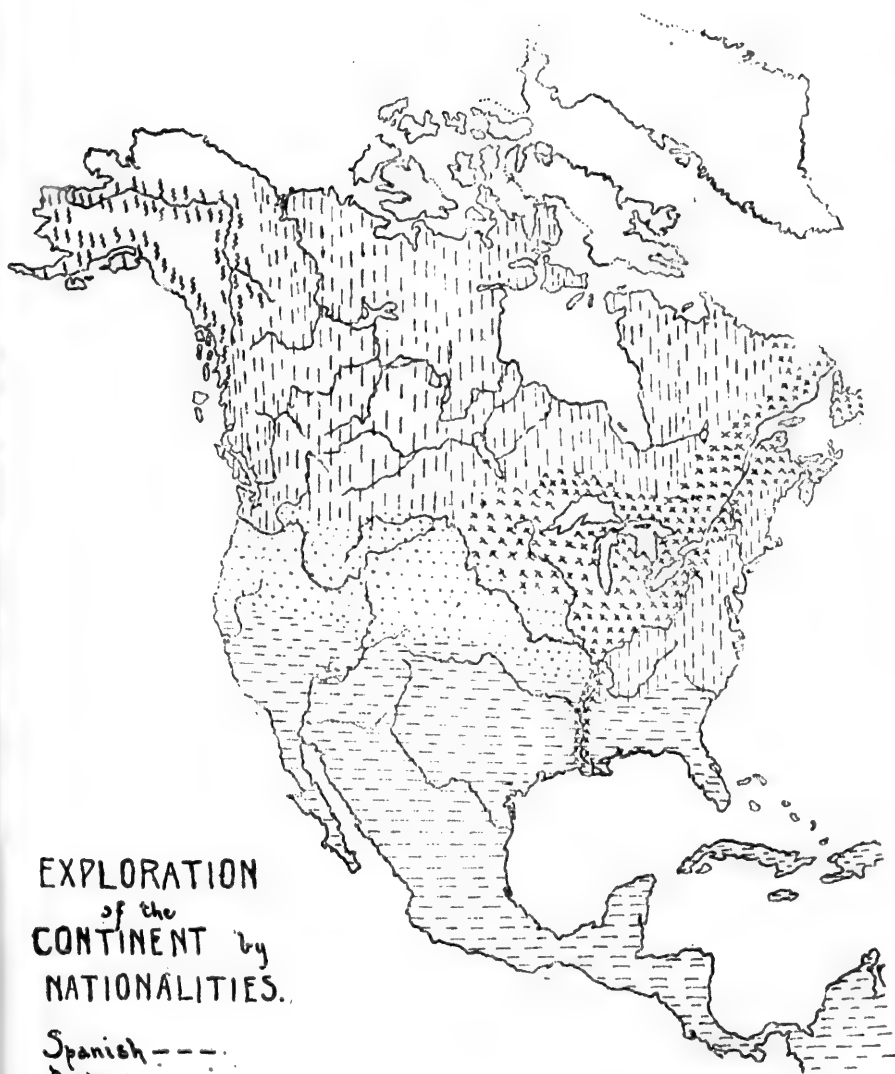
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EXPLORATION
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THE ACTUAL AMERICA IN RELATION
TO BEHAIM'S GEOGRAPHY.
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SLOANE MANUSCRIPTS,
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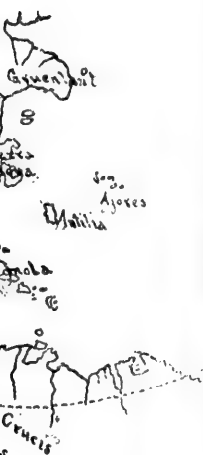


RUYSCHE, 1508.

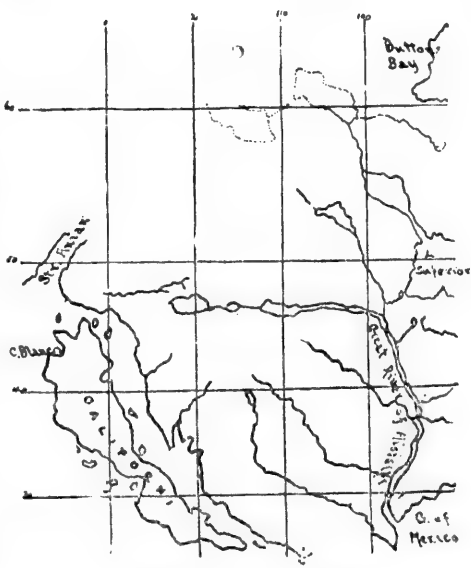
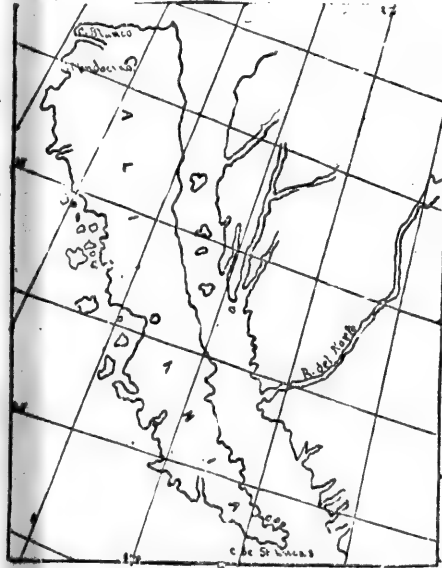
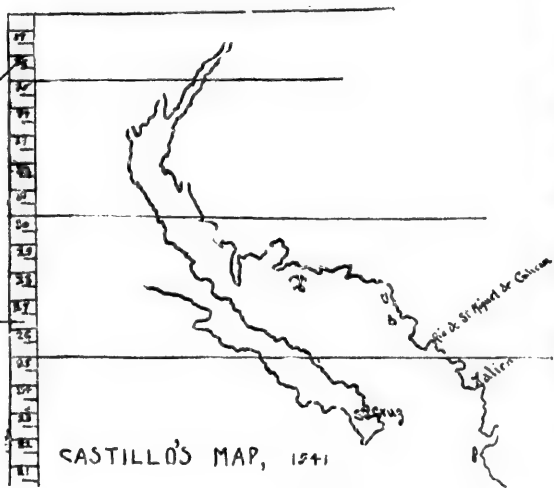
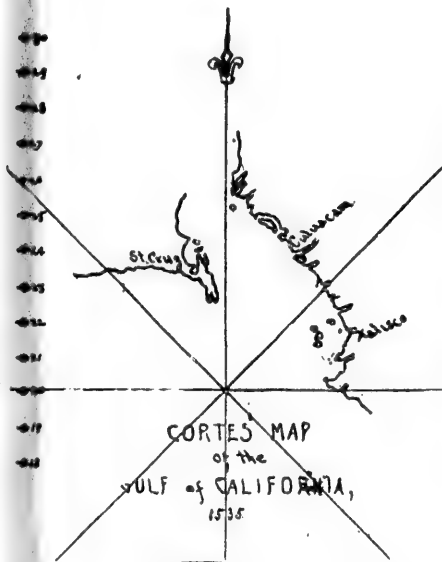


CARTA MARINA,
1548

Working out of the idea that the North-American lands were the eastern extension of Asia.



extension of Asia.



DUTCH MAP, 1624-5.

HARRIS' MAP, 1705.

First explorations on the Northern Pacific coast; and evidence of the later reign of unfounded surmise.



Bold guesses remarkable for degree of approximation to reality.

In the upper we have the first extension of name "America" to the northern continent.

In the lower there is an early representation of the straits and realm of Anian.



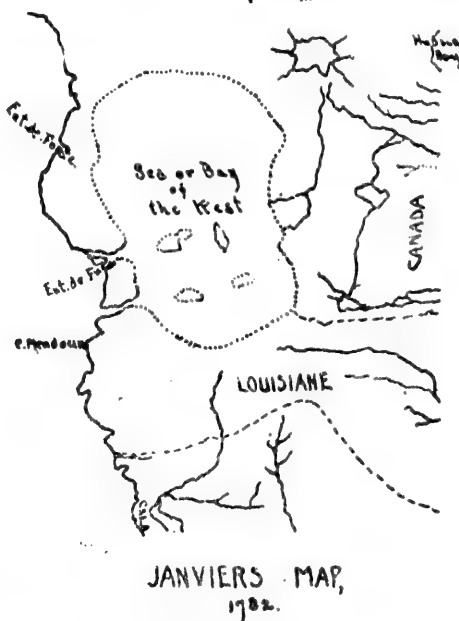
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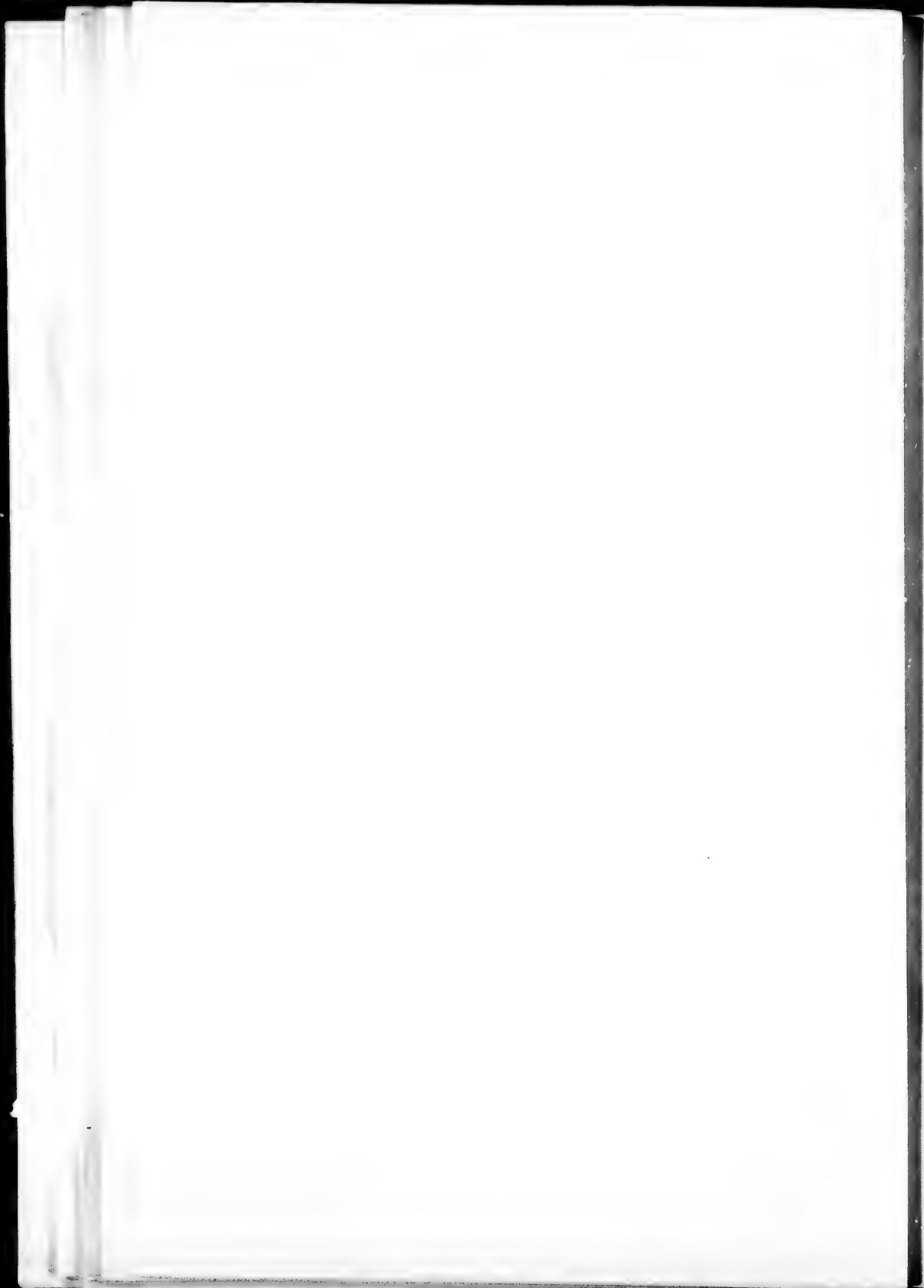
Maps showing the domination of the idea that the lands discovered a continuous coast-line had been traced that they were a strip of territory explorations continued, that they constituted a continent with numerous the northwest.



MUNSTER, 1540.



sea that the lands discovered in the north were a string of islands; after they were a strip of territory with an isthmus in latitude 35°-40°; and, as a continent with numerous seas and easy inter-oceanic passages in



THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

REGIME IN THE OREGON

COUNTRY.

England has always profited by her dauntless trading captains. Around the world their stakes were set for future occupation. Oglethorpe, Baltimore, Raleigh, Penn, New England grants, gave her colonies on the Atlantic. Her Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies captured British America. Cook and his followers gave her Australasia. The East India Company absorbed that famed old India, the coveted dream of princes for a thousand years. Out of her very misfortunes rose greatest opportunities. When her little island realm was too small, she sent her Sinbads out. When fire and plague devastated London and impoverished her nobles, she sent them over-seas to bind the Northland with her iron chain. Even her criminals colonized Botany Bay. British Guiana, British Honduras, British Borneo, are synonymous with commercial venture. British Egypt dominates the Soudan; British locomotives scream where Stanley toiled on foot; British homes have superseded kraals of Hottentots. A British highway from Cape Town to Alexandria is the all-but-accomplished dream

of empire-carving Cecil Rhodes. Her syndicates are now in China. That Oregon is not today a British colony is due to the fact that Anglo-Saxon met Anglo-Saxon. America, too, has sent her trading captains out.

To a casual observer the Hudson's Bay Company regime in the Oregon country seems like a far, heroic time, an age of myth and fable, long before Americans had right or title to this northwest coast. The facts are far otherwise. Scarcely was Cornwallis home from Yorktown before our ships were on these shores. Sea captains of our Revolution led the way, they pre-empted the Columbia, and tax-free took home tea from China.

The story of McLoughlin, charming as it may be, is not the story of Oregon, but an incident in a chain of stories. For more than a quarter of a century before McLoughlin's British flotilla came down to Astoria, our Boston traders had been entering the gates of Oregon, had named her mightiest river, had fixed their personality so upon the native tribes that all Americans were "Bostons," from Sitka Sound to San Francisco. It was not the Hudson's Bay Company, not even the Northwest Company, but Lewis and Clark, that first scaled the Rockies and traversed the wilds of Idaho. Not Canadian voyageurs, but the private secretary of an American President and officers of the United States Army, that first ran the gauntlet of the swirling Dalles, and measured the Columbia to the sea. Then New York stepped in with Astor to forge another link in our chain of title to "the Oregon country." Not McLoughlin, but Astor, an American citizen, built the first forts in Oregon and summoned to his emporium fur brigades from the Umpqua to the Frazer. The land had been discovered, had been explored, had been commercially traversed by Americans from Boston, New York, Virginia, before a single British trader undertook to join this Oregon country to the grant at Hudson's Bay.

The infant republic of North America had a mighty territory to cover with her handful of people, away and away and away it stretched, no man saw the bounds thereof. All the world turned in to help her; the industrial enterprise of Europe landed on our eastern shores and rolled in mighty tidewaves westward; so busy were we levelling forests and building farms east of the Mississippi that for a moment Oregon was left. That was England's opportunity.

That Charles II granted a monopoly of furs on Hudson's Bay to his "beloved cousin, Prince Rupert," has been criticised. Unjustly. By just such strokes as this, England clutched the world. Prince Rupert and his friends, "the gentlemen trading into Hudson's Bay," were an impecunious lot; to retrieve their broken fortunes they looked beyond the sea, to that sub-arctic wilderness where no man held possession, where nature beckoned with her riches. The Spaniard followed the luxurious south, the Frenchman took the St. Lawrence, the Englishman built his fort amid the rigors of Hudson's Bay. He reached out west and north. English arms took Canada. Hudson's Bay expanded until it took in half of North America. A Canadian-British rival, born at Montreal, began to dispute Hudson's Bay monopoly of all the earth,—it claimed the Arctic, the Pacific. They met and quarreled. A year and a day from Waterloo they fought on the plains of Manitoba. Britons spilt British blood at Winnipeg. Parliament called a halt among these contentious children,—"Britons may fight Frenchmen, Indians, Americans, anybody but each other. Come, compromise, marry," said motherly old England, "marry, and I will give you a wedding present." So the hoary old Hudson's Bay Company proposed to the blooming young Northwest Company. It was plainly a wedding of capital and labor. The Northwest Company had nothing but her hands, her courage and her splendid exploration. Behind the Hudson's Bay were the money-bags of nobles and the Bank of England. Representatives of each went to London to fix up the wedding dowry. One of these representatives was the most far-seeing of all the Northwesters, Dr. John McLoughlin, then in charge at Fort William, the emporium of the Northwest Company on Lake Superior. John McLoughlin stood out for better terms at that London meeting. Some of them never forgot that insubordinate spirit, it reminded them of the rebels of the American Revolution. Too long had McLoughlin breathed the free air of the St. Lawrence, too long had he ruled the wilds, to submit tamely to effacement in the rival body. He spoke as a Northwester for Northwesters; he did not win his point, but he never signed his name to the ultimate terms of agreement.

Long ago, as a trading captain after England's own heart, Dr. McLoughlin had looked on Oregon. He saw a new field, a great field, a coveted stronghold on the Pacific, and hither they sent McLoughlin. His was an empire in itself, from Alaska to Cali-

fornia, from the Rocky mountains to the ocean. The United States was not asleep, she was not even dreaming, but every nerve was bent on building up the East. In due time Oregon received attention. For the present, British energy tamed our red men, trapped our wild animals, and took commission in their skins. Perhaps, ordained of God, it paved the way for us.

Dr. John McLoughlin and the Hudson's Bay Company reached Oregon together, in 1824. Between time and fire, old Fort Astoria, our first American structure, was in decay. And a British flag could not fly above its ramparts, it was ours. McLoughlin missed his late imperial fastness in the north. He would be monarch in his fort. Go to Irving's "Astoria" for a description of the Northwest traders en route to Fort William: The partners from Montreal "ascended the rivers in great state, like sovereigns making a progress; or rather like Highland chieftains navigating their subject lakes. They were wrapped in rich furs, their huge canoes freighted with every convenience and luxury, and manned by Canadian voyageurs, as obedient as Highland clansmen. They carried with them cooks and bakers, together with delicacies of every kind, and abundance of choice wines for the banquets which attended this great convocation. Happy were they, too, if they could meet with some distinguished stranger; above all, some titled member of the British nobility, to accompany them on this stately occasion, and grace their high solemnities." And McLoughlin had been chief in this hall at Fort William, where the Montreal partners came for their annual council. Does this not read like a familiar tale to every old Oregonian who knew McLoughlin in his days of state at Fort Vancouver?

Now and then Fort Vancouver had her distinguished stranger and her titled guest: Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay territories in North America; Sir Edward Belcher with Her Majesty's exploring expedition in Pacific seas; sometimes a great botanist like Nuttall from Philadelphia, or Douglas from Glasgow, who found and named the Douglas spruce; some noted ornithologist like our American Townsend, some newspaper man like Farnham, or adventurer like Captain Sutter, who was dined and wined and passed on to fame in California; sometimes it was the commander of a fleet, like Commodore Wilkes of the United States' exploring expedition in 1842

that succumbed to the wine and good fellowship of Fort Vancouver. Or it may have been officers of Her Majesty's squadron that kept guard on the Columbia in the critical winter of 1845 when the tide was turning in favor of America. Sometimes it was an American trader like Nathaniel J. Wyeth of Boston, who with affable manner brought a Yankee hand and eye and brain; or an officer of our army like Fremont, who fitted out at Fort Vancouver before unfurling the stars and stripes in California. Sometimes it was a missionary driving stakes for future states, or an immigrant following close behind with garden tools and axes, the implements of civil life. And every year and every year it was a Hudson's Bay partner with his retinue of voyageurs coming down in state from Fort St. James beyond the Fraser, from Colville, Okanagan, Spokane, Fort Hall upon the Snake, or Walla Walla at the Columbia's bend, from Nisqually on the Sound, or from the hills around the Umpqua. But whoever came, McLoughlin was still the genial host, the sympathetic friend, the confidant and counselor.

This semibarbaric court, with nabob partners and transient guests, with retinues of French-Canadian cooks and voyageurs, and leagues on leagues of Indian subjects, found congenial soil in Oregon. Fort Vancouver blossomed into farms and gardens beyond anything Hudson's Bay men had ever known in the rigorous north; retiring servants shuddered at the chill of Canada, and begged permission to end their days with their Indian wives and children in the green Willamette valley. Civilization grew apace.

McLoughlin's rule was stern. Ethical reforms that follow Britain's rule held here. No more the slave was slain to be buried in his master's grave; no voyageur might have a dozen wives, no trader might abuse the confidence of trusting tribes. "Keep your promises," said McLoughlin. "Build up confidence." Where of old the boatmen sped with lighted match above a loaded cannon, peace dwelt. Not even would he permit a tribe to rob a rival trader. How quick he sent avengers down to Umpqua when Jedediah Smith had met mishap. The White-Headed Eagle spoke in tones of thunder, "No Indian can rob a white man with impunity." When a Hudson's Bay ship was wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia and Clatsops hid the goods, the vengeance of the white-headed chief was swift and terrible. When a Yankee captain ran aground in the Willamette, Mc-

Loughlin's messengers, like guardian angels, kept the savages at bay and helped the stranger off. When missionaries came, he met them, picked out locations, gave them every encouragement.

That the Frenchman amalgamates with inferior tribes is the history of North America; he loses his identity, loses his civilization, finally loses empire. The Spaniard comes like a despot, fastens upon the toil of inferior races, his civilization decays, he, too, loses empire. The Anglo-Saxon, with a moral on-sweep, molds anew. With him, tribes must rise or perish. He never loses himself. Incapables disappear or blend in the leaven of his empire. The way was clear for such an empire here, purely English. But America was too quick.

When over the mountains long trains of immigrants began to roll, the first faint waves of deluge, John McLoughlin was, before all things else, an Anglo-Saxon. The Indians were satisfied with the Hudson's Bay Company, it did not take their lands. But these Americans wanted, not furs but farms; not forts but homes; not isolated trading houses, but a whole land full of factories, schools, cities. Indian wrath grew with each succeeding wagon that rolled over the Rockies, bearing women and little children into Oregon. The tomahawk was ready. But as ever with this royal race, (when not fighting us) McLoughlin forgot gain, forgot furs and forts and dividends, he only remembered that humanity was here in danger. Far up the Columbia he sent his batteaux to feed the hungry immigrants. And when, from a stormy voyage, they were landed at Vancouver, he it was that met them on the shore, that took their hands in welcome, that builded bonfires all along the sands to warm and dry the multitude. All night long he stood out there, his white locks wet with rain, guarding, guarding personally that no damage or danger might ensue to these strangers in his realm. And so from year to year.

But who was McLoughlin? A British fur-trader. And these were American immigrants that meant to take the country. The London directorate of the Hudson's Bay Company made investigation. "Our representative in Oregon is encouraging American immigration," they said. "I know it, gentlemen, I know it, but I cannot see the people suffer," was McLoughlin's answer. The American Congress heard of him. "Dr. McLoughlin is a British fur-trader and a menace to our settlers," was the verdict.

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So around the devoted doctor's head the criticising arrows flew. Calmly on his way he sent his ship loads of furs to London, quietly he fed the hungry settler, until conflicting interests drove him from his post at Fort Vancouver. The story of McLoughlin is the story of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon. When he resigned and moved to Oregon City, decay set in at Fort Vancouver. Settlers came fast and faster, the fur hunters decamped for California gold fields. A joint commission of the two countries appraised the property, the United States bought it in, and the shadow of England passed from Oregon. But the name and memory of Dr. John McLoughlin remain, a beneficent boon to all coming time.

EVA EMERY DYE.

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